CHILD STUDY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL of PARENT EDUCATION

SPRING, 1948

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HEADLINES

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The mental health of adults as well as of children, long the growing concern of thoughtful people in all nations, has become of special interest since the war, with its aftermath of broken spirits and clashing ideologies. Never has it been more important for psychiatrists, research and social workers and teachers to pool their knowledge and find together the ways to promote healthy attitudes among the people of our modern world.

The first step in such a program of cooperation has been taken by the International Committee for Mental Hygiene, which has called for August 11 to 21, an International Congress on Mental Health to be held in London. The Conference, instead of offering papers by individual specialists, will build its sessions around the reports of many small research groups or "preparatory commissions." These groups are already at work in the various participating countries.

The United States was asked to focus the effort of its groups on "What has war done to the children of the world and what can we do about it?" This specific inquiry hopes to collect, pool and centralize all data now available on the effects of war on children, to provide a basis for long-term studies on selected groups of war-injured children, and to analyze all results in terms of sounder world citizenship. The Child Study Association is preparing a commission on "The Meaning and Management of Aggression—A Contribution to Parent Education," and will submit this report to the Conference.

Developing this topic further, the theme of our Annual Child Study Association Conference on March 1 will be "The Problem of Human Aggressions—How Do They Develop? Must They Lead to War?" Articles by the speakers and a summary of the conference proceedings and conclusions will appear in the Summer issue of CHILD STUDY.

The Intent to Understand

In this day of new inventions and changing values, we need as never before wiser and deeper understanding of our children who are to inherit this earth. In almost any other field than the psychological we ask the experts to design our product, shape our tools and test our materials. It would seem reasonable to expect science, which has contributed so broadly to our mastery of the physical universe, to give us the answers about ourselves and our children. But what we achieve so brilliantly in the material sphere, comes more slowly in the psychological.

The articles in this issue touch upon some of the new knowledge about human development which research has opened up. They also point out the many difficulties that beset the parent who tries to translate this information into wise practice.

New data about human beings—our children, their parents, the world we live in, comes to us from various fields, and colored by differences of perspective. As laymen in a professional world, we have become accustomed to accept expert opinion uncritically. But here, in child study, is a field in which the experts do not always agree, and in which, it must be remembered, each parent has a certain "expert" standing in regard to her own children. Our writers in this issue point out that instead of passively accepting the pronouncements of research we need to resist the tendency to adopt uncritically any current fad of child rearing. On the other hand, we need to guard against holding to any philosophy of child care with such inflexible devotion that we cannot appreciate and evaluate new ideas as they emerge from other approaches to the study of children.

What criteria shall we use in this evaluation? This issue—Recent Research in Child Development: Some New Approaches—offers various suggestions. We must test what we are told against our own experience with our children. But this in turn requires of us a keener and more informed observation of our children, a greater awareness of the demands and opportunities of their environment. Here the work of experts can help us by directing our attention to what is significant in behavior, the ways in which it is influenced by our culture, and the further obligation to try to understand its underlying causes.

In accepting the importance of trying to understand our children's behavior we move toward a new and better relation with them. Even though we fall far short of our goals, the intent to understand changes and improves the situation. This emphasis on seeking as well as finding is the undercurrent theme of the articles in this issue. But in such seeking we need not be alone. This attitude should free us to work cooperatively with informed persons whose experience with many children and many parents enables them to supplement and interpret our own.

THE EDITORS.

Self Regulation in Infancy

JOHN C. MONTGOMERY, M.D.

"Problems of Early Infancy" was the subject of a conference sponsored last year by the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation. Dr. John C. Montgomery, who wrote the article on this page, was a contributor to this conference, which offered an opportunity for psychiatrists, psychologists, pediatricians and those concerned in the administration of lying-in hospitals to discuss new research in the psychologists, the property of the psychologists of the psychologists and those concerned in the psychologists. lying-in hospitals to discuss new research in the psychology of the newborn. This research has precipitated considerable criticism of our provisions for the care of infants during the neo-natal period and has resulted in various experiments with procedures. Notable among these are guidance of expectant parents before the child is born, provision for mother and new infant to occupy the same hospital room and the abandonment of a fixed schedule for feedings.

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provision for mother and new infant to occupy the same hospital room and the abandonment of a fixed schedule for feedings.

Pediatricians rarely undertake responsibility for a clien before his birth. Dr. Milton J. E. Senn, however, reported on a successful project at New York Hospital in which pediatricians had conferences with expectant mothers and their husbands. In these interviews, in addition to offering practical advice about child care and purchase of equipment, the doctor encouraged the discussion of the parents' doubts and anxieties. Dr. Senn concludes that "as a result of the prenatal pediatric interviews, the incidence of breast-feeding can be kept above 80 per cent. Furthermore, the mother is able to prepare for the neo-natal care well in advance... and is thereby relaxed in her relationship to the baby, her husband and the household."

Arrangements in the maternity hospital for mother and child to be in the same room were discussed in several papers. At New Haven Hospital in 1946, after a period of considerable resistance by hospital authorities, a rooming-in unit was successfully organized and operated. "The overall policy of the unit," reported Dr. Edith Jackson, associate clinical professor of pediatrics, "is one of ad lib schedule for the babies and as much as possible for the mothers. The mothers are told to ask for the nurses' help whenever they want it, but to feel free to take care of the baby themselves as soon as they feel able." Advantages, both physical and psychological, to baby and mother are reported, among them the early opportunity for the infant to regulate his feeding schedule and the encouragement to breast feeding.

Three instances in which these advantages might fail to be realized were noted by Dr. Sibylle Escalona, psychologist from the Menninger Clinic: when the mother was likely to be made tense and anxious by the responsibility of interpreting and responding to the baby's crying, when the mothers are "anxious, tense, worried, and in conflict, wheether in relation to the i

A VERY confused young lady came to see me last week to talk about her expected child. I was delighted to have an opportunity to talk with her and to relieve her of some of her anxieties. It is altogether too rarely that a pediatrician has an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the mother of his prospective patient before the latter has arrived upon the scene.

Sarah Brown was a clear-thinking, intelligent woman. She came directly to the points which had been confusing her. I shall list her questions.

- 1. Should I breast feed my baby?
- 2. Should I nurse or feed him on a schedule? My mother says it's the only way.
- 3. Should I follow this self-demand idea? I am not very clear about it, but I don't want to miss a bet. What is it?

There is unquestionably considerable doubt in the minds of prospective mothers regarding the points which Sarah Brown raised. I believe that I succeeded in straightening out much of the confusion in her mind. I shall attempt to set down here the points which seem to have clarified the situation for her.

Much of the criticism of the policy of self regulation in infancy has been based upon the assumption that the advocates of this policy favor a system of license with no regulation at any time. This is of course a false concept. Actually these advocates insist that there is a proper time for imposing restraints and a proper manner of doing so. The management of a year-old child, they state, must be different from that of a 15-month-old child, and so on through successive ages. This is well stated by Dr. Edith Jackson, associate clinical professor of pediatrics at New Haven Hospital. She said, "There is a proper timing, sequence, and degree in the application of controls and restraints (discipline) in relation to the capacity of a growing organism to support them without distortion or trauma." Those who have attained proficiency in contract bridge will readily recognize the importance of timing. Perhaps another analogy will prove helpful. A loaf of bread is not edible until baked,

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^{*} Problems of Early Infancy. Transactions of the First Conference, March 3-4, 1947, New York, N. Y. Edited by Milton J. E. Senn. Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation.

but satisfactory results cannot be obtained by baking it before it has risen. In other words, a certain amount of growing up or maturation must occur before the loaf is ready for the oven. Similarly, a certain amount of growing up must be achieved by the child before he is prepared for the imposition of restraints and frustrations.

Parents are frequently instructed that newborn infants are essentially reflex organisms. This information is correct, and yet without explanation, it is likely to lead to confusion.

Have you ever had a doctor tap your knee tendon and been startled by the way your leg jerked? That is what is known as a reflex. The reason you were startled was that your brain did not command the movement. To you, it came as a complete surprise. That means that the activation occurred through a reflex arc which went straight through the spinal cord and back to the leg muscles without any participation of the brain.

A newborn baby is a completely reflex organism. In other words, his brain does not participate in any of his activities. While you may think he is crying, for example, to have a bowel movement, his bowels will move entirely in a reflex manner. He can feel the movement, but can exert no conscious control over it. There is a more dramatic example of reflex action in the newborn baby. When placed in a tank of water he will swim as instinctively as a puppy. These are not opinions but facts. The natural conclusion is that inasmuch as the newborn infant is a reflex individual, he cannot be spoiled by affection or by attention. Indeed, I should like to state categorically that no infant was ever spoiled by properly directed and sincerely felt affection.

The Nuzzling Reflex

This newborn, reflex animal has other characteristics interesting to parents. Like other animals, he likes to nuzzle. In our language that means that he likes to root for the breast. Space will not permit me in this discussion to make a plea for breast feeding, but one characteristic of the newborn can be best understood in relation to the breast feeding experience. Normal breast feeding is composed of the following steps. First, rooting by the infant in search of the breast; second, suckling; third, satisfaction, and fourth, comfortable sleep. It has been demonstrated by Dr. Aldrich, at the Rochester Child Health Project of the Mayo Clinic, that the newborn baby when awakened from a sleep, will not exhibit this rooting reflex. Why should this be?

The human newborn like all other mammals does not become hungry at regular intervals. Indeed, at first he is hungry at very irregular intervals, and only when he is hungry will he nuzzle or root and satisfactorily nurse. Mothers who have recently had infants in a modern hospital where they are presented for nursing at rigid intervals of six, ten, two, six, ten, two, can well understand this, because at many of these times, the infant, not being hungry, lay there with seeming disinterest. Could the mother have entertained him one-half hour sooner or perhaps an hour and a half later, he would have shown great interest in nursing.

Whether during the first few days the infant should be permitted to nurse when hungry is not merely an academic question. Our experience with the "rooming-in" arrangement whereby babies are kept in the same room with their mothers, has demonstrated that the normal newborn achieves a peak of nursing times at from the fourth to the sixth day after birth. Moreover, this peak is apparently necessary for the establishment of an adequate supply of breast milk in most mothers. But this discussion is not directed toward a plea for breast feeding but rather to give an understanding of the needs of the infant.

This reflex, human animal seems to differ, however, in one important respect from the lower animals. As his consciousness of himself as an individual gradually emerges, he seems to retain a memory of whether or not his comfort was maintained by those in direct contact with him, and perhaps more important, whether or not his discomfort was relieved.

This brings us to one of the most important observations which we have been able to make on infants who have been cared for on a self-regulatory schedule; namely, that they develop the characteristic which we speak of as patience at a much earlier age than babies kept to a strict schedule.

It seems logical to assume that this patience is generated by another characteristic—namely, confidence in those around them. If from the beginning, particularly from the emergence of consciousness, they have been aware that their every need was satisfied, it is not strange that they should develop this sense of confidence in those in their immediate surroundings.

I have said "those in their immediate surroundings." Perhaps I should have said "the one" in their immediate surroundings, because it is characteristic of the human infant that he is not capable of adjusting himself at first to too many individuals. The in-

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The Parent as a Research Worker

BARBARA BIBER

Dr. Barbara Biber, teacher, lecturer, consultant and research psychologist, is chairman of studies and publications at the Bank Street Schools in New York, an institution recognized as a leading force in modern education. She has for years concerned herself with the application of modern psychology to the child's education in school and at home. Dr. Biber is also the senior author of "Child Life in School," and has written other books and articles on education. Her article on this page is a condensation by our editors of a lecture delivered by Dr. Biber last October at Child Study Association headquarters.

CHILD development research has become in recent years such a wide field of investigation that a single paper can point out only some basic trends, discuss a few of the crucial questions about children which occupy the minds of many different researchers all over this country. These questions, divested of professional "lingo" can be applied by any parent to his own children. The world of research is not so many miles apart as it used to be from family and home and the emotions involved in raising a child.

Let us take the simplest and the most direct focus of inquiry about the child which has been prominent in the field of research for the past twenty or thirty years: What is his behavior? What is he doing with his eyes, with his legs, in his speech, with his toys? What are his changing patterns of behavior?

This behavior approach to children is perhaps the one which has been most continually pursued. It is identified with familiar names, the most familiar being Arnold Gesell, and it has a great contribution to make in our knowledge of children. Through painstaking observation and analysis of behavior data, something orderly has been made out of the complex business of children's growth.

An inventory like that of the Yale Clinic's, of how children act, from one month on to ten years, in the use of the body, in relation to other people, in developing concepts and language, is a tremendously valuable tool in our quest for clearer understanding of the complexities of growth during childhood. Par-

ents need to discover how these research results can be most meaningful to them in the course of their daily lives with their children. It is unfortunate that parent-readers often look upon reports and books as more final and authoritative than do the authors themselves. It would be good if instead of reading with bated breath, they read with more confidence in their own impulses.

Let us take, for instance, the Gesell conclusions about the sequence of behavior from age to age. It was important to set down this mass of information in an orderly way. Gesell himself, however, pointed out over and over again that in his book he is using age as a convenient tag, so as to get an arrangement of sequence. What he is really saying is: "This is the way children of two act, after they have been what they were six months ago, and before what they will become six months later." Moreover, these age tags apply only to fifty children who grew up in a New Haven middle-class community, went to a certain kind of school with a certain kind of teacher. In other social environments their characteristics might be considerably different. But by reading how he looked at these children and what he learned about them we find a way of observing and studying our own child. We should avoid the attitude: "My seven-year old is not like that seven-year old in the book. His vocabulary is not as developed. Maybe we have not been stimulating enough as parents. Maybe there are too many children in his school group. Maybe his school doesn't give him enough freedom.'

To measure one's own child against the characteristics of a whole group of children is exactly the way not to use behavior studies. One of the most important positive uses of Gesell's work for parents is to interest us in watching the behavior of our children and its sequence as they grow from one stage to another. A mother may be sitting in her living room, reading an article about child study, while her three-year-old plays happily with his blocks on the floor. A parent who has become sensitized to the meaningful detail of behavior may soon become too interested in observing her child to keep her eyes on the printed pages before her. The way in which this three-year-old picks up his blocks, piles them on top of each other, watching them fall, has become sig-

nificant for her. Then he gives up the tower and makes a low structure with his doll in the middle, or perhaps sits crooning to the doll in his arms. The lullaby changes and the doll is pitched into a dark corner while the mother finds herself watching in great detail the expressions on his face with each new activity. This is a passing illustration of how, out of acquaintance with sequential studies of children's behavior, parents can gain tremendous insight into what to notice.

Another fact pointed out by Gesell is that children develop fairly regularly from one stage to another. Gesell has one idea of what these stages are; Anna Freud has another. Someone else may work out still another scheme of sequences. But the important point for the parent is that getting a long view on the development of one's child makes it easier to wait for him to pass from one stage to another. By some reports we are told that development shifts from a disturbed stage one year to an integrated and tranquil stage another year, and back again to a disturbed stage the next year. Whether or not this shift is a regular annual change requires further study and analysis. In any case, as the child's emotional complexity becomes deeper and broader, he reaches a new level of life and cannot live smoothly or easily, but goes through a period of disorganization, which is hard on the parent but twice as hard on him. Then he resolves that disintegration and passes into a calmer state of organized and integrated reaction. Knowing that growth shuttles along in this fashion makes it easier to live through difficult moments with one's children.

Individuals all differ in their process of growth, whether it is learning to climb stairs, to read books, to talk to the opposite sex, to marry or to find their vocation in life. One hears parents of adolescents say: "My daughter is fourteen and she still can't talk to a boy," or "My daughter is twenty-five—will she ever get married?" Young people need time to grow at their own rates in every area of development. By adapting Gesell's idea of growth sequence to other problems—letting our children prepare for the major experiences in life without any fixed idea of time, we do a great service to them and to ourselves.

It is a mistake to take each age of one of these development studies as a norm, and then to feel insecure as a parent because our child may not match up to the behavior outlined. It is equally a mistake however, to develop a sense of security by reading the book and deciding that our child is six months ahead

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of the others. Both this security and this insecurity however, are unreal. My advice would be to work the other way around. Take the book of observations, say, from the Yale Clinic, and compare it with your own children. Don't try to match the children to the book; match the book to the children.

Gesell puts great faith in this observation of the order of development, as fundamental data by which parents can be guided in raising and educating children. But no study of behavior sequence, no matter how excellent and how inclusive, can tell parents and teachers what their goals and ideals for human beings are. Each of us, consciously or unconsciously, has a sense of the kind of human beings we would like our children, and the world's children, to be, the kind of world we want to live in, and what we like and do not like about the one we have. The development of children involves these values and goals, and it is this point, it seems to me, which Gesell has minimized far too much.

Life's Challenge to the Child

Other kinds of behavior sequence studies focus less on growth and more on the basic challenges which life holds for the growing child at every stage of his development. What problems, what opportunities does the very young child have? He is developing an energetic, growing body not quite ready to balance itself. Adventure often costs him pain. Perhaps he has a mother whom he loves and who loves him, a father who is indulgent. He is beginning to sense vaguely that they mean something to each other with which he has nothing to do. The problem of settling his own feelings about these two people is a big challenge for him. Even at the earliest stages, he faces a certain conflict and ambivalence in his emotional life, which change as the years go on. The study of the child's impulses and wishes, his conflicts and his challenges at different stages of his development is also a sequence study, but from a quite different approach than the study of behavior. The crucial question becomes: What is driving him to do what he is doing? Why does he care so much about doing it? What will happen inside him when he accomplishes his purpose?

Take a child of eight, who just perhaps, three years ago, could not be made as independent as one thought a five-year-old should be. He would not make his bed in the morning, or take any responsibility. Yet now at eight or nine, he refuses help altogether. Why?

The most important of the researchers into this

way of thinking was Freud. There are many others who apply the analytic approach to work with children—Anna Freud, Dr. Melanie Klein in England, and here in America, among others, Dr. Marianne Kris and Fritz Redl. When Daniel Prescott wrote *Emotion and the Educative Process*, he brought this idea into the educational field and started a whole new wave of thinking about the learning process, to which Dr. Edward Liss and Dr. Lawrence Frank and many others have made important contributions.

Our whole approach to learning, as it relates to school, takes this trend of studying the motives behind behavior. Why do emotional difficulties get in the way of what children can learn intellectually? Why does a child capable of learning to read, reject reading and fail to learn? There must be some reason.

This is the kind of question a parent can ask about his own child every moment of the day. Why does a child refuse to eat what I am offering him? Why, when it is so much trouble for me and makes so much trouble for him, does he seem to want to generate this trouble? It is not meaningless. It is not "bad" in the superficial sense of the word. Behind such

behavior lies a motive and a meaning.

Which approach you adopt in relation to your own children depends upon your general outlook on life. If you hate asking questions to which you find no answer, you will not like looking for the motives behind behavior, because half the time you cannot find the answers, or else they come a long time later. But even without the answers, the very fact that you are thinking about the child in these terms can give you an easier relationship with him. You will get a certain relaxation from accepting your child's behavior and feeling comfortable with it. Asking yourself what is happening inside the child brings you closer to him. Just trying to figure out why he does what he is doing means that you will not get as angry with him for it. When great thought and interest go out toward a child, great affection is involved, too. This gives you a feeling of connection which will help you to survive the rebuffing that comes to a parent during adolescence.

There is still another type of group study in this field which is sociologically very important. This kind of study concerns itself not only with what children do and why, but what they are reacting toward. What situation is affecting these children and how much is their behavior a factor of that situation? Kurt Lewin stimulated this approach in psychology and formulated its techniques. In the Lewin and Lippitt study of the effect of situations upon a

group of children, the evidence tends to substantiate a theory many of us already knew vaguely—that where an atmosphere is autocratic and domineering, the members of the group hate each other, and fight and make trouble. In educational circles today this idea is the most important, and it is no fad that almost everyone is talking about "atmosphere study" and "climate study."

Bringing this "situational approach" closer to home, it offers the parent an important and a challenging way of thinking about the home situation in relation to the child. A mother may well ask herself: "What situation do I supply for the child to react to? What does this child need most? If I have three children, I cannot offer three situations. What will our kind of home mean for my youngest child in contrast to my oldest?" Hers may be one of those intellectual homes where both mother and father are involved in something abstract, but the child may be the kind to whom translating ideas into words isn't the most interesting thing in life. How will he react to that home atmosphere? Will he feel: "I can't belong to this family. I'm like an adopted child. They accept me, but if I produced work more like theirs, that might make me more acceptable." The mother of such a child needs to think not only what the situation is, but how she can give him recognition for his own value. We parents tend to concentrate so much on what we do that we lose sight of what we are, although actually that sets the pattern for our children more than anything we do or say. Everything happening around them becomes a part not only of their feeling at the moment, but of their growing imagery of what they will recreate when they make a home for their own children.

The Child's "Style of Life"

Still another way of looking into child development is exerting a tremendous influence on our thinking. What is the child's unique and individual style of life? If one wants the essence of a human being, one must know his whole life story from the beginning, even before the beginning. This is the new technique known as the longitudinal study—studying an individual over the whole period of his life and from every point of view. We have learned certain ways to judge these phases, among them, the interpretation of paintings and drawings and even handwriting, which are now seen as real expressions of the individual at a deep level. Most of us no

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What Is a Problem Child?

ALINE B. AUERBACH

So much interest has been aroused by one chapter of the book, Parents' Questions,* written by our staff that we are reprinting it here in a somewhat shorter version. "What Is a Problem Child?" has never appeared before in our magazine. It is written by Aline B. Auerbach, who has been for some years a staff member of the Family Counseling Service and a lecturer and discussion-group leader for the Association. Her article in our last issue, "Understanding Children's Fears," brought many letters of appreciation.

AT SOME TIME almost any mother may find herself wondering if there is something special and different about her child that makes him behave as he does. "Why can't he be like other children?" she may ask; but frequently she keeps this to herself, embarrassed to admit the shortcomings of her offspring and pushing away her anxiety that there may really be something wrong with him. Perhaps, in a way, she would not like it if he were just like every other child, but her need to know that he is normal, mentally and emotionally sound, is natural and strong.

It is hard to believe that other children can be as difficult or as annoying as three-year-old Jane who follows her mother everywhere, refusing to let her out of her sight, or as six-year-old Billy who dawdles over breakfast day after day so that he barely gets to school, or as eight-year-old Johnnie who *insists* on listening to the radio mysteries well past his bedtime, or as twelve-year-old Sue who is "fresh" and impudent and speaks her mind about her parents even when her grandparents are present.

It is easier to accept unusual or difficult behavior if one understands the reason for it. When Mary, who is three and a half, starts wetting again after the new baby is born, her mother can accept the situation with less annoyance if she understands that Mary is upset by the baby's coming. In some queer way of which the child herself is completely unaware, she may be showing her wish to be a baby again in order to get a baby's care and love.

Children's behavior has meaning, if one can find it, and is not as pointless as it sometimes appears. Children act as they do in order to satisfy their deep inner drives or needs. These needs have been described in many different ways and psychologists have argued bitterly over the definitions. Quite simply, children need first and foremost physical comfort and well-being and love and affection. They need also acceptance and recognition, activity, achievement and the growing power that comes with success. Define this any way you wish; it adds up to the chance to live in comfort and happiness and to be given some share of a place in the sun. The ways in which children go about achieving these ends are infinite and varied. They differ according to the innate temperament of each child and the intensity of his feelings and responses. They are colored by all that he has learned from his experience since birth.

It is no wonder, then, that it is often difficult to find the key to a child's behavior. So many of the reasons for what he does and how he does it lie deep in his past and are quite unconscious. He doesn't understand his behavior any more than his parents do. What we see him do and hear him say reveals only a small portion of his total personality and feelings. His immediate behavior is related to all that has gone before much as the nose and head of a seal which we see pushing through the water are related to the rest of its body hidden below the surface.

It may take time to find the meaning of a child's behavior and to help him work out some better way to meet his needs. Often parents can get help and insight from outsiders who are able to look at the child and the family situation objectively. A wise doctor or public health nurse, a teacher at the nursery or grade school, a counselor in a guidance clinic, any or all of these may be able to help parents understand a child's difficulties and problems.

By three tests we may judge whether particular problems which the child presents are close to normal or more serious. First, it is significant if they persist too long, if the child does not grow out of them as other children do. A child who wets his bed habitually at five or six, or stutters continuously after his speech has already been established, or continues to avoid children of his own age well into the school years, does present a problem to be looked into.

Second, it is important to know whether the child's problem will respond to obvious common-sense methods of handling. Have you honestly tried the simple practical way of dealing with him? A boy of seven who takes another boy's bicycle on the

^{*} Copyright 1936 and 1947 by Harper and Brothers.

school playground may not be stealing in the moral sense. He may just want terribly to have a bicycle, and getting him one may settle the problem. Common sense doesn't solve all situations, however, and we must be honest in admitting when it fails.

The third test is that the child's behavior should seem logical and appropriate. We are not discussing at this point children who are below normal in mental capacity or who have some physical deficiency or mental illness. We are considering the difficulties of so-called normal children, trying to distinguish a natural response to what has happened from behavior that is caused by an inner emotional disturbance. Where the immediate situation is responsible for the child's problem, we call it normal, even though it may be severe, as, for example, a child's deep sorrow at the loss of a parent. When the situation does not reasonably explain the response or account for its intensity, the child's actions may arise from his unconscious feelings. These feelings are, to be sure, aroused by what has happened to him recently, but responds in an unreasonable or exaggerated way. This kind of response is called a neurotic reaction, and is a sign of emotional conflict and disturbance. A girl of six or seven who shows acute anxiety each time her mother leaves the house even though she is left with someone else is acting unreasonably and can be said to be emotionally upset. She is acting as if her mother were leaving her forever, instead of just for the afternoon.

Symptoms of Disturbance

Emotional disturbances may show themselves in many different ways. A neurotic child seems to be tied to a certain pattern of behavior and repeats it over and over again under many different circumstances. Sometimes children have physical symptoms -vomiting before going to school or on trips or to parties, soiling, bed wetting, or a constant succession of minor ills such as colds, allergies, digestive disturbances and headaches. Others seem anxious or depressed, full of vague or specific fears; they frequently get into temper tantrums, or wander off in excessive daydreaming, or seem constantly preoccupied with sex. Sometimes children steal when they have plenty of spending money, play truant when they are doing well in school, run away from home when there seems to be no provocation or behave in other peculiar or delinquent ways. It would be helpful if parents could learn to think of such exceptional or objectionable modes of behavior, not as something

wrong or bad to be stopped, but as symptoms of something in the child that needs to be remedied. Often a child may show several of these symptoms; one may disappear only to have another take its place.

Any sudden and extreme change in a child's personality is apt to be a danger sign. A little girl of eight who had been normally co-operative and easy to live with suddenly became unusually aggressive, unpleasant and resentful toward her mother after the birth of a new sister. Her attitude seemed out of keeping even with the normal disturbance to be expected at that time, and indicated the possibility of a deeper emotional conflict which had been reinforced by the coming of the new baby. Fortunately her mother recognized that the child's behavior was unusual and sought professional advice in the matter. What she did not see until she had had a number of sessions with the counselor was that the child was in trouble and that her behavior was, in a sense, an appeal for help.

The roots of these emotional disturbances lie deep in the child's personality and affect his whole being. They may arise from a feeling of insecurity, a phrase which we are apt to use loosely when we mean a child's overwhelming sense of his own helplessness before real or imaginary dangers. His present difficulties may be tied up with anxieties and fears, even though he may not appear to be frightened, or with strong feelings of hate and anger that he cannot express or even accept and live with. The causes of emotional difficulties are complex and do not lend

themselves to simple pigeon-holing.

Parents themselves should not try to diagnose these things, any more than they would attempt to diagnose a physical disease or ailment. In more and more communities one can find professionally trained counselors—psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers and psychologists—in child guidance and mental hygiene clinics or in family and children's welfare agencies. With these, parents can discuss their problems. Scientific advances in the study of human behavior are opening up new resources to be drawn on. These trained people can decide how serious a child's difficulties are and can suggest, supervise and, in many cases, themselves undertake needed treatment.

Actually our knowledge has deepened in this field, and we now know that parents cannot completely control their children's personality development any more than they can completely control their children's physical health. They can establish to the best of their ability and understanding the essential back-

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Chills and Thrills in Radio, Movies and Comics

SOME PSYCHIATRIC OPINION REPORTED BY JOSETTE FRANK

The discussion of Children's Fears in the Winter issue of CHILD STUDY suggested an inquiry into the possible relation of movies, radio and comic "thrillers" to fears in childhood. Accordingly, the following psychiatric opinions have been gathered by Josette Frank and are presented here for the guidance of parents. Miss Frank is educational associate on the Child Study Association's staff and consultant on children's books, radio and comics.

Nathan W. Ackerman, M.D., psychiatrist, is Director of the Council Child Development Center in New York City. Lauretta Bender, M.D., is Associate Professor of Psychiatry, New York University Medical School. Marianne Kris, M.D., instructor at the Psychoanalytic Institute, is psychiatric advisor to the Family Counseling Staff of Child Study Association. David M. Levy, M.D., is Assistant Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, Columbia University. Reginald Lourie, M.D., is Psychiatrist in Rochester Guidance Center, and Pediatric-Psychiatrist in the Psychiatric Clinic of Strong Memorial Hospital, University of Rochester. S. Harcourt Peppard, M.D., is Acting Director of the Bureau of Child Guidance, New York City Board of Education. Edith Weigert, analyst, is a Fellow of the Washington School of Psychiatry. Augusta Alpert, Peter Blos, Simon H. Tulchin and Katherine M. Wolf are consultant psychologists in New York City.

DOES blood and thunder in children's entertainment create or increase their fears? To what extent should children be protected from such experiences?

Since we have no research findings on these questions, a number of psychiatrists and psychologists were asked to express opinions based on their own observations and work with children. These opinions showed wide differences on some points and general agreement on others. Despite divergences, however, these many views hold much of value for parents who must manage their children's contact with these modern forms of entertainment in day to day living.

All those interviewed were agreed on one point: that radio programs, movies and comics do not in themselves create fears, but for certain children and under various conditions, do precipitate or stimulate anxieties lying beneath the surface ready to be awakened. There was agreement, too, that children differ in their fear-reactions to various fictional situations. It was on questions of the harmfulness, harmlessness, or positive value of these experiences for children that the greatest divergence of opinion developed.

At the outset most of those interviewed pointed out that in a discussion of these entertainment media, they cannot all be lumped together, for comics, radio

programs and movies differ greatly both in content and in impact. The preponderant opinion seemed to be that visual experiences—the movies—are likely to have the greatest and most lasting impact.

Dr. Marianne Kris suggests that movies may be more frightening than comics or radio programs because the visual qualities of the movie presentation exercise a greater appeal to imagination. One might therefore find that scenes of killings or horror in movies may prove upsetting even to a healthy, well-balanced child, and still more so to a child already under tensions.

Dr. Lauretta Bender agrees that the "auditory patterns of radio are likely to be less clearly received and therefore to be less impressive than the visual patterns of the movies." Whether or not children will be frightened, she says, will depend on the pattern presented on the screen. "Children are fascinated by the Frankenstein monster because it personifies their own fantasies of growing into power. It therefore becomes frightening to them: perhaps they could do these terrible things, or their parents could! Frankenstein personifies their own capacity to let go of impulses to destroy and is therefore threatening. The Superman figure is the reverse of this, an opportunity to identify with good deeds. He is benevolent and loving and upholds a moral code. Children are frightened by the absence of controls. Clearly they want restraintthey want a moral ceiling on what they might conceivably do."

Dr. David M. Levy, pointing out that "clinical impressions of the effects of contemporary movies, radio and comics on children seen in psychiatric practice are naturally focused on the anxieties they engender," goes on to say: "In my experience, movies are much more likely to evoke reactions of anxiety than other media of entertainment. Children have been referred to me because of night terrors precipitated by witnessing a particular movie. In contrast, I do not recall any instance where referral was occasioned by anxieties due to a radio program or a session with the comics. Judging by the responses of children seen in practice, movies represent a more intensive experience than the other two media-due to the child's more realistic identification with the characters in the play. A clinical test of their efficacy in eliciting emotional tension could be made by comparing the responses of

children immediately following their exposure to samples of the three media with respect to pulse, temperature, blood pressure, insomnia and night terrors.

"Judging by the mothers' accounts of patients' brothers and sisters, it seems fairly obvious that the majority of children do not have acute symptoms. The children who do react to an exciting movie with night terrors, for example, are reacting to an experience which sets off anxieties usually related to hostile impulses toward someone in their own intimate environment-toward a parent, parent-substitute, brother or sister. As an original source, without any reenforcement from past experiences, I believe the movies are unable to precipitate acute anxiety except in children of pre-school age. We are badly in need of research on unselected groups. Even without the advantage of such study it is a safe inference that it is unwise to subject a child to a movie without careful selection. There are too many children with past experiences that can thus be 'set off.'

"Aside from special traumatic practices, the problem of emotional tension, as such, should be considered. There is a varying degree of tolerance for excitement and this tolerance varies also with age. The same experience that is tolerable at seven may be unendurable at three. Regardless of age some children for reasons still unknown can stand very little excitement. For them, excitement must be carefully measured. Some children on the other hand crave excitement and become addicts, especially to radio and comics. There are many reasons for this kind of escape. In the main there is an impoverishment of interest in intellectual and social activities. As an outlet for the release of forbidden impulses all the entertainment media including fairy stories have been given special approbation. Some children never graduate from the comics, as witness the large number of adults who require a daily dose of such regressions.

"Are the child's aggressive impulses, omnipotence ideas, fairy-tale magic wishes, as portrayed in the comics, a salutary influence? Do the comic-strip and the radio programs for children retard intellectual and emotional growth? Or do they have real value as a stimulus to the imagination, as a safety valve of tensions, as a sedative distraction? On the whole the clinician is more aware of the harmful influence of the present-day media—but they present a fertile field of research for educators, psychologists and psychiatrists."

Dr. Katherine M. Wolf, in studying children who attended movie thrillers for the first time, found that those children who showed fears were those whose

fears were apparent in other areas too. "Thrillers," she says, "depict realistic, concrete situations; children who are not predisposed to anxiety are able to differentiate them from their own experiences. In contrast, the Disney films evoke anxiety even in well-adjusted children. They deal with phantasies in undisguised form. The child feels 'caught' and is therefore afraid."

Dr. Bender believes that "movies in which the mother is either killed or threatened, as in Bambi or Dumbo, are likely to be frightening experiences unless parents step in and utilize them constructively. A resourceful parent can actually help to resolve the child's anxiety through a movie or radio program by giving him a chance to talk out his own problems in relation to the situation presented in it. This presupposes, of course, that parents are able and willing to listen, to explain meanings and to clarify confused ideas."

Radio, several contributors noted, presents other problems, such as the age of listeners and individual differences in their sensitivity. Radio is not selective—it reaches all within earshot.

Coping with Fear

Dr. Kris believes that "by the time the child is around six the fears which are normally present in the third and fourth years are usually under control. Children who do not normally react with fear to other situations are not likely to react with fear to radio either. Where a child's emotional life is already on the verge of imbalance, however, a program or movie may create unnecessary strain. It is true that a child must learn to cope with fear, and it is important not to overprotect him; but we should avoid arousing more fear than he can handle.

"On the other hand we know that there is an age when children normally are attracted by cruelty. The child does not react to it as the adult does, but enjoys vigor not only in the hero but also in the villain. Literature offers characters for identification. The little boy normally enjoys identifying with the strong man in the story. Children in whose personality passivity plays a dominant part tend, on the other hand, to identify with the weak in these storied situations. Still others attracted by the test of their strength, love to play with danger and are fascinated by it. 'Am I strong enough or am I not?' Dare I?'

"In all these questions one has to consider the necessity of creating outlets for the child's aggressive impulses. But we do not know whether an outlet with little positive value does not involve the child in addi-

tional conflicts. Certain of the thrills offered by popular entertainment seem to be too near more

primitive excitement."

The difficulties of controlling which child shall listen are pointed out also by Dr. Nathan W. Ackerman. "The trouble with radio," he says, "and to a somewhat lesser degree with movies and comics, is that these mass media strike all types of children—psychotic, neurotic, anxious and normal. While the normal ones are not likely to be unduly disturbed by exciting programs, we have to take into account that a certain proportion of children are anxious children, who need the safeguards we can give them."

On the question of harmful effects, Dr. Ackerman goes on to say: "Parents often assume that dramatic programs or comics create pathology. This is erroneous. No matter how weird or violent they may be, programs don't create disturbances. But given a child who evidences disturbance, one must question the effect of the stimulus (radio, movie, or comic book) on this particular child. Pathology enters the picture when the emotional disturbance persists over a long period and is palpably heightened by this type of entertainment.

"A radio program or movie may precipitate in the child an overt expression of an underlying anxiety. In such a case the program should not, perhaps, be said to be harmful, since other accidental stimuli may also create similar effects. We must, however, always be aware of the emotional disposition of each child in order to protect him, when necessary.

"We see children who, in spite of their shudders, seem irresistibly drawn to horror programs and movies. Such children are, no doubt, impelled to defy the symbolic threat of punishment. They seem impelled to meet this threat, hoping to be able to overcome it. One cannot, of course, generalize on the value or harm of such experiences. How well each child will succeed will depend upon whether he is strong enough to meet fear and end up with a feeling of mastery over it, or is overwhelmed by the experience and unable to cope with it."

As to just what proportion of children would fall in this "disturbed" group, no statistical answers are available. Dr. Bender believes that "more than three-quarters of the children who read comics do not react with fear." Dr. Reginald Lourie reports that in a study of controlled radio listening with 200 children between the ages of eight and twelve "between seventy and eighty per cent showed no measurable reaction after listening to radio serial programs. About fifteen per cent showed some change in behavior pat-

tern such as overactivity, hyperexcitability or sleep disturbances. About a third of this group knew before listening that they would be upset but were almost magnetically drawn to listen. About three per cent voluntarily avoided listening because they knew it would be too upsetting.

"Correlations have not yet been completely worked out, but it would appear thus far that each disturbance experienced by a child after listening can be traced to other current factors. These vary from constitutional excitability to friction with other children, homesickness, or other anxiety-producing stress. In some children, factors of this kind seem to bring them to a susceptible point where fears may be crystallized by the kind of imagery offered by a 'thriller.'"

Agreeing that "certain programs may stir up, in some children, an already existing neurosis," Dr. S. Harcourt Peppard goes on to say: "On the other hand, radio programs which contain elements of action, adventure, hostility and suspense are more likely to provide an opportunity for the child to come to grips with his own anti-social impulses. Listening to these programs he is enabled to satisfy, through dramatization, some of these needs which otherwise might develop into increased fears or even into overt aggressive acts. In our culture, children necessarily are exposed to many fear-provoking and destructive influences. These are a part of reality. Our job is to fit children to live in this reality. Children must have experience with fear and aggression in order to learn gradually to cope with them."

The Values of Comics

As to comics, Dr. Bender goes further in emphasizing the positive values for children: "Much of what they find in the comics deals with their own unconscious fantasies. It is possible (though I cannot say this with certainty) that they need this material as a pattern for their dreams, to give them content with which to dream out their problems. As in radio serials, the continued stories give them confidence. For here are patterns of life that can be trusted to come out all right.

"Comics constitute experience with activity, motility, movement. Their heroes overcome time and space. This gives children a sense of release rather than fear. Sound effects—in the comics as well as on the radio—horses' hooves coming and going, and other sounds denoting motion, are important in the sensory education of our children. Along with their listening, children often experiment in the use of their own bodies, acting through the motions of the unseen radio characters. Not many carry it to a dangerous degree and those few who do would be likely to use any other pattern this way; i.e., children have always jumped off heights in imitation of birds or airplanes, even before Superman suggested it to them.

"Let the children listen and look," says Dr. Bender. "We do not always know the problems they are trying to solve or what they are groping for; but through their comics and their radio we may perhaps help them to formulate and articulate their problems and find solutions for them."

A very different point of view is offered by Dr. Augusta Alpert who is concerned with the "cumulative effect of the threefold bombardment of children's minds with stories of violence."

She says: "By the very repetition of the 'biff and bang' theme day after day, on radio, on printed page, and topped off on the screen, conflict and aggression become too permissible. This either activates a child's guilt on account of his own hostile impulses, or it replaces guilt with an under-developed conscience, depending upon the emotional make-up of the child. Some children appear more immune than others. The action of these stories is so swift, the form so lurid, that the stereotyped 'moral' is lost in the rush. Furthermore, the all-powerful, all-wise, ever-present concentrate of manhood and womanhood are hardly suitable or workable ideals for children to identify with. In the psychological sense, aggression is not synonymous with hostility; nor is fighting the only satisfying outlet. Education has not been resourceful enough in this respect, nor knowing enough about the treatment of frustration, with the result that children are left too receptive to the passive release provided by stories of violence and vengeance.

"Comics of the 'thriller' variety make aggression too easy and too colorful, and in that way threaten the eruption of the child's own, precariously controlled aggressive impulses. Fear inevitably follows in their wake. If these experiences were safety valves, in the form of vicarious discharge of aggression, nightmares following them would not be so frequently reported."

Dr. Wolf, however, on the basis of her investigation of comics-reading, emphasizes the impossibility of making any "all or nothing" statement concerning the relation between comics and children's fears. "There are," she points out, "two different patterns of comics reading. Moderate readers use the comics for identification with the heroes. As they grow up and realize that perfection is unattainable, they are critical of the unrealistic perfection of the comic-book hero, and their own development weans them from comics reading. In these children comics arouse

neither nightmares nor aggression.

"Excessive readers on the other hand (and 'excessive' here refers not to quantity of reading but to intensity of absorption) do not identify with the comics hero. For them he symbolizes a deity or savior to whom they delegate all responsibility. While this almighty figure, by relieving them from responsibility does relieve them from anxiety, he also creates anxiety merely by his all-powerful existence.

"Comics evoke, however, the strongest anxiety in those children who, though their psychological makeup is similar to that of the comics fans, actually shy away from comics-reading. For these children the comics hero symbolizes the devil, who is threatening

rather than helpful."

That comics and radio programs meet many of the same needs as does literature is suggested by Dr. Edith Weigert. She says: "Children in all times have had a certain longing for the gruesome as exemplified in the old fairy tales. This longing derives from the child's need to get beyond his home and nursery into a big world full of dangers which he has already glimpsed and which has already created anxiety. The child has a longing to get acquainted with these dangers, but at a safe distance. In stories and radio programs the child can master them by identification with the hero who masters them.

"It is noteworthy that in the traditional fairy tales it is usually the youngest or the weakest who braves the dangers and wins. This is reassurance for the child who is always in the position of being young and weak in an adult world. No child can grow up without anxieties. In fact, our whole educational method applies anxieties in certain doses, for there always is the threat of withdrawal of adult approval if children do not comply with what we require of them for our educational purposes."

How Much Make-Believe?

The question of "how much" was stressed by several contributors. Dr. Peter Blos, granting that children may have a certain "fear-tolerance," asks: "How much of frightening make-believe can a child tolerate without reaching the point of anxiety which is the danger signal—that is, the point beyond which he cannot handle his own fears? Just when this point is reached varies according to the age of the child and to his individual disposition. Any kind of overstimulation, whether mental or physical, has disorganizing effects. If you eat too much of the best food it becomes poison. This does not mean that the food is poison but merely that you have eaten it beyond the point of tolerance. This is true also of children's exposure to excitement and fear in radio, movies and comics.

"The normal child differentiates between inner and outer reality in his listening in proportion to his own degree of security. The stronger the child's sense of reality, the less vulnerable will he be to fearful situations in fiction or drama. Age is a factor here too: the younger child is less able to differentiate and therefore more vulnerable."

Also warning against "excessive preoccupation with thrillers," Simon H. Tulchin points out that "while these do have a fascination for children, one would not want to dish them out in unlimited quantities. A child needs all kinds of experiences, but there is danger if the experiences are all of the same kind. And certainly a child whose make-up is highly sensitive may need to be protected from horror films or programs.

"It is important, however, to bear in mind that what seems horrible to us as adults may not seem horrible to the child. The adult sees things in the situation which the child does not because these are not within his experience. Often, therefore, we weigh the effects in terms not of the child's reactions, but of our own."

Dr. Weigert, too, points out that "a yearning for anything in excess is a symptom of some disturbance. The child who is excessively absorbed in thrillers, whether in comics, radio or movies, should be helped to find more creative interests." As to this Dr. Kris also adds: "The child for whom radio listening, movies and comics are the paramount activity, is in danger of getting all his entertainment passively instead of creatively. I would say, however, that a certain quantity of storied 'thrills' would not be detrimental."

What is the role of parents in all this? A few specific directives and suggestions are offered. Supporting Dr. Bender's plea that parents watch for opportunities to help children talk out their problems, Dr. Ackerman suggests that parents find ways of helping the anxious child "not by shocking him into open expression, but by working gradually to help him master the experience for himself. For example, after a very exciting program or movie the parent might talk over with him the whole experience of being scared. Such verbal re-living of the fear situation may help him to gain control of his fears."

Dr. Blos suggests the point at which parents must take over. "Some children are drawn to listen to

exciting programs as they might be to explore a dark cellar or an empty house. Such listening will do them no harm. If, however, children are under compulsion to prove to themselves that nothing bad can happen to them (which is proven by constant listening to exciting stories) then we must suspect a lack of self-confidence, and for such children we must find ways of building up more active reassurance through constructive activities instead of passive ones.

"Some children, on the other hand, protect themselves from programs or movies which they find too exciting by refusing to see or listen to them. This might be called 'living within your capacities'—and might be compared with not eating more than your stomach can digest. Children often find this point for themselves. Where they do not, parents must do it for them."

Effects of Parental Anxiety

Dr. Weigert discusses the effects of parental anxiety: "One of the major problems in children's radio listening is the oversolicitous mother who strives to give her child too much protection. A child growing up without exposure to any anxiety or feat-producing situations would be like a child brought up in a germ-free environment. It is important to find the point to which a child may safely be exposed to anxiety and not to expose him to more than he can safely bear. But anxieties will be much more difficult for the child to handle if the parent is overwhelmed by them. If the anxiety is presented in an artistic form and if the adult who presents it is confident that the danger can be mastered, the child is thereby reassured: He thinks, 'I can master it, too.'

"When a child has nightmares, it is safe to say these come from some insecurity in his relations with his parents or others in authority. One might say too that the child who is too greedy for thrillers is somehow unsatisfied in these significant relationships."

For parents, there is a wealth of suggestion in Dr. Lourie's illuminating note that, in the study cited, "when the children had, earlier that day, been engaged in competitive and exciting play of their own, fewer of them listened to the radio. Perhaps this confirms our feeling that these programs fill vicarious needs, and that when enough thrills and excitement are actually experienced, the vast majority of children have no need to listen."

"It is significant," says Dr. Alpert, "that children whose emotional, social, and physical needs are met by the home, school, and neighborhood, pass through

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Parents' Questions

The questions published here are selected and discussed by the staff of the Child Study Association, and the answers written by various members. The department is edited by Aline B. Auerbach.

I can't help being skeptical about the trend among so-called experts toward letting children decide everything for themselves—self-regulated feeding schedules, later and later toilet training, running to them whenever they cry, and much else. Aren't we paving the way for spoiled children? In my experience children need control; they want their parents to order their lives more or less.

You are right, of course, that children need control and that they want parents to order their lives. But your words "more or less" are important. So is the question of when to control and how much. Timing is of the utmost importance. The type of control and the requirements one has for an older child must be different from the requirements one has for an infant. A "spoiled child" is one who is never required to meet the standards and denials which he is in reality capable of meeting. Such spoiling does real injustice to the child. But equal injustice and harm is done by requiring performances beyond the child's capacity.

Recent research tends to show that regimented feeding schedules for infants, early and strict toilet training, subjecting them to the misery and anger of long crying spells without someone to come and comfort them, produces not strong, well-adjusted children, but nervous children, stubborn children, children with food problems and anxieties. In the first year or so of life a baby gets discipline enough in adjusting his whole organism from pre-natal to postnatal existence. The mother's job is to ease this transition all she can. But she should also be attentive to her child's signs of readiness for the next step forward. As time goes on she will learn to sense when he can stand some denials, tolerate occasional frustrations; she will gear her controls accordingly. If she times her training to coincide with her child's readiness, she will discover that he accepts the training far more readily than if she imposes it without regard

To argue that we spoil a child by meeting his re-

quirements for mental health is like arguing that the vitamins we feed children tend to spoil them. Spoiling is something quite different from seeing that a child gets what he needs. A child needs training suited to his emotional capacities, just as surely as he needs the kind of food suited to the requirements of his body.

My four-year-old daughter seems to be fascinated—but also terrified—by the programs to which her nine-year-old brother listens. He certainly selects the worst horror programs, and they don't appear to bother him, but I find them dreadful. In a small apartment with one radio, it's pretty hard to keep the little one from listening. But when I try to shut them off we have such a battle I wonder if this isn't worse for all of us than the programs themselves. What do you think?

In close living quarters management of the radio is indeed a problem. You are right in feeling that your four-year-old needs to be protected from "horror" programs that are certainly not suitable for her. Unfortunately there isn't much on the air that is suitable for that age, but you can find something for her to listen to. Smaller children often enjoy music, if it's only recordings of hillbilly tunes and popular songs. Many stations carry one or two young children's program on Saturday or Sunday or weekday mornings. Find these for her.

But further than that, you will simply have to be ingenious in providing other things to attract her (and perhaps her brother, too) away from programs you think are too frightening. A little expedition, a visit to or from a neighbor or an interesting errand planned for that particular hour may do the trick. Or, if that isn't feasible, you might invite her into the kitchen to help you ice the cake or mess around with something that needs mixing—a type of participation usually attractive to a four-year-old. A small phonograph of her own might help, especially if you listen with her, or a story time when you will read anything she chooses to her alone. Keep her happily busy at that particular radio time, and keep her company.

What can I do about my son, who is now seven years old and still wets his bed? Not every night, but almost, in spite of everything we try to do to help. He gets little fluid in the evening, and my husband or I always get him up once or twice

for his state of development.

before midnight. We have no other problems with him. He's good in school and at home and liked by his friends and well-behaved and conscientious in other ways. He is very ashamed of this babyish habit, and so am l.

It is easy to understand that your boy is ashamed of wetting his bed, for of course he feels that this is something he should not be doing any more. And yet it is not uncommon to find children of this age, especially boys, who have not been able

to set up this kind of control.

The causes of enuresis (continued bedwetting) are complex and difficult to diagnose at a distance. There is reason to believe that bedwetting sometimes occurs when toilet training was begun too early, before the child had reached the stage of nervous and muscular development that would enable him to respond to what was expected of him. Frequently, it appears in children who, like your boy, are well-mannered and conscientious-and almost too good. Where it persists, experts see it as a sign of tension and of emotional disturbance, with deep and varied psychological roots. Since your problem has continued for so long and you yourself are so troubled by it, it would be wise for you to get professional help. With proper guidance you can be helped to help your boy, and you can learn also whether the child himself is in general need of psychological treatment.

My fourteen-year-old daughter will not listen to our request that she come home at a reasonable hour when she goes out with her friends in the evening. We have recently moved into this neighborhood, and I know how important it is for her to feel accepted by her friends, but just because I understand this, do I have to take it?

Many other parents are concerned, as you are, wondering whether "to understand all is to forgive all." Surely "to understand" means that you have some insight into what lies beneath the surface of what your child is doing. You can decide your own course of action, then, on the basis of the total picture of your child's personality, balancing her needs with the rights of the rest of the family, not just the immediate situation.

In this case you may decide to let your daughter stay out later with her friends, if she does so only on week-ends, for example. But your understanding her point of view will help you to go about it in a friendly way by talking the whole problem through with her, so that you can work out a solution that is reasonable for everyone. This kind of talking things over on

quite a mature level may also give her some of the feeling of being grown-up and independent which she seems to be looking for. At the same time it will give you the opportunity to discuss with your child the standards of social behavior and human relations that she needs to guide her.

Understanding a situation, therefore, is usually only a first step for parents. From there on, you will find it easier to make a decision that will be right for

everybody involved.

CHILLS AND THRILLS IN RADIO, MOVIES AND COMICS

(Continued from page 46)

a brief, more or less intense addiction to comics and other such items, and go on from there to the next level of development. But the less fortunate children, the vast majority, emotionally underfed at home, suffering from unbearable frustrations—these are the children who become 'addicts' of thrillers as children and remain fixated on that level indefinitely. For them, these programs fill in the vacuum left by the failure of home, school and neighborhood."

Implicit, if not explicit, in all of these contributions is the commandment to parents to know their own child, to know what he is seeing and hearing, and to examine these experiences in terms of his particular needs and interests. What kinds of movies, radio programs and comics appeal to him? Why? Do these seem to give him release or overstimulation as evidenced by sleep disturbance, anxiety, and so on? Do other activities have a fair share of his time and attention? Parental management in each case must be guided by the answers to these questions. There is no single formula for all children, no clear course for all parents to follow.

There remains, too, the need for parents to examine their own attitudes. Are they really noting the child's reaction or are they voicing their own prejudices and problems? To what extent do children have guilt feelings when they enjoy things of which they know their parents disapprove? May such feelings of guilt be more damaging than the actual listening or reading? Does parents' anxiety make the child more anxious?

Whatever the answers to these questions, however, conflicting the opinions of the psychiatrists, we will find that the differences in tastes and interests about entertainment, which perennially exist between generations, can be bridged by humor and understanding and by real respect for the child's present needs and for his capacity for growth.

Suggestions for Study Groups

This outline is based on the articles in this issue on the general theme of "Understanding Our Children: Some New Approaches," and is offered as a guide to readers who wish to use CHILD STUDY as source material for group study and discussion. The department is edited by Margaret Meigs.

SELF REGULATION IN INFANCY

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

A program of infant self regulation does not mean that the baby is fed whenever he cries or that his program will always be without plan or limits. The fact that a new infant cannot exert conscious control over his behavior implies that he learns best when one plans in accordance with, rather than against his expressions of bodily need. Patience is more directly a product of satisfaction than of frustration.

To Discuss:

Discipline involves placing upon a child as much responsi-bility for freedom as he can manage. How does this concept of discipline as applied to older children relate to our early man-

agement of feeding and toilet training?

What are some of the provisions and controls needed to insure successful management of an infant's self-regulated schedule? Consider the implications of Dr. Escalona's reser-

At what point do we properly make a shift toward a more conventional schedule for the baby?

TO READ:

Problems of Early Infancy. Milton J. E. Senn, editor. Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation, 1947 (see article, page 35).

The Commonsense Book of Baby and Child Care. Benjamin Spock, M.D. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945.

Psychological Management of the Baby in Maternity Hospitals. H. Bakwin, M.D. Child Study, Winter 1945-46.

psids: H. Bakwin, M.D. Child Study, Winter 1945-46. Reprint available.

Two Moshers Revolt: Why Can't Babies Share Our Hospital Rooms? F. P. Simsarian and R. W. Taylor. Child Study, Winter 1944-45. Reprint available.

Groutbi: A Study of Jimmy and Johnny. M. McGraw. D. Appleton Century, 1935. (A study of the training of twins which can help explain the discussion of reflex motivation of the newbox.) tion of the newborn.)

WHAT IS A PROBLEM CHILD?

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

As we recognize that outward behavior reflects inner psy-As we recognize that outward behavior rehects inner psychological and physiological drives, we can interpret disturbing behavior in a child as an indication of a difficulty in meeting inner needs. He needs our help. Our understanding of management, however, sometimes has to be supplemented by expert guidance. This is the case when sudden, radical changes in behavior are involved, when responses are clearly out of keeping with the situation, or when a problem persists long past the age when such behavior is normally relinquished.

Compare illustrations of mischievous behavior with examples of delinquency. When is delinquent behavior in effect a "serious prank" and when is it an expression of profound emotional disturbance?

Not all problem behavior is expressed in aggressive, rebellious, hostile or destructive behavior. Discuss circumstances in

which generally approved behavior, such as obedience, daintiness, quietness, tidiness may indicate maladjustment.

Evaluate the facilities for guidance in your community.

Where can parents go for help?

TO READ:

The following references take up at different age levels the problem of the interpretation of behavior:

The Parents' Manual: A Guide to the Emotional Development of Young Children, Anna W. M. Wolf. Simon and Schuster, 1944.

Personality Adjustments of School Children. C. B. Zachry. Scribner, 1929.

Pre-Adolescents: What Makes Them Tick? F. Redl. Child Study. Winter 1943-44. Reprint available.

So You Want to Help People. A Mental Hygiene Primer for Group Leaders. R. M. Wittenberg, Association Press. 1947. A sensitive interpretation of the needs of adolescents and A sensitive interpretation of the needs of adolescents and of those who work with them.

THE PARENT AS RESEARCH WORKER

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

Research offers a variety of approaches to the study of children: through descriptions of behavior; through theories about motives and goals; through follow-ups of the same individual over many years; through studies of the interaction of individuals and environment; through the analysis of an individual's creative products. From these studies we can learn to observe more shrewdly, question more profoundly, and judge more humbly.

To Discuss:

Compare what you know of the capacities and limitations of children of a given age with the challenges, opportunities and restrictions offered to them in your community. For any individual child, how do his personal characteristics and his family situation affect his use of these opportunities?

Plan a project for getting a better understanding of a child, using the various approaches to the study of personality sug-gested by Dr. Biber.

TO READ:

Painting and Personality. A Study of Young Children. R. H. Alschuler and LaB. H. Hattwick. University of Chicago

Press. 1947.

Father of the Man. W. A. Davis and R. H. Havighurst.
Houghton Mifflin. 1947.

The Child from Five to Ton. A. Gesell and F. L. Ilg. Harper. 1946. The Nursery Years. S. Isaacs. Vanguard Press. 1938.

CHILLS AND THRILLS IN MOVIES, RADIO AND COMICS

BACKGROUND FOR DISCUSSION:

Thrillers in movies, comics, or on the radio may provide children with satisfying or disturbing experiences. The effect on a child depends not only on the content and manner of the presentation of the thriller, but also on what the child brings to the experience. Parents' management of children's activities in connection with radio, etc., can be effective only if it is based on an understanding of each child's interests and needs. It is for parents to find other ways, where indicated, of meeting these needs.

(Continued on page 53)

Child Study Association in 1947*

THROUGHOUT its history and under changing climates of public opinion, the Child Study Association of America has always looked to scientific research for new knowledge and insight. While recognizing the needs of the individual child, it has seen him also as considerably more than one of a category—a two-year-old or an only child. It has refused to treat the child by himself as an isolated object. In all its work, the Association has consistently considered the child as essentially a member of the family.

It is gratifying to note now that thinking about children has increasingly come to be identified with thinking about the family as their normal setting. Practically everybody who has to do with children admits this need; nearly every community project or institution dealing with children is consciously "family-centered." Many specialized groups and community agencies are concerned, too, with the family as inseparable from the community and the culture that characterizes that community.

The Child Study Association of America has always been ready to consider new ideas and new interpretations, from whatever sources. When in 1912 the Association began to explore the implications for child development of the radically new approaches of psychiatry and psychoanalysis, it invited hostile criticism from many directions. These special modes of conceiving and interpreting human nature have come to be more widely accepted through the years. Those who carry on the Association's work feel confident that the general policy has been sound. We must continue to consider new ways, new techniques, new "theories"-both critically and sympathetically. We must remain flexible enough to adjust our programs not only to the changing needs of people and families, but to changing knowledge from every field that touches on human relations.

In its general program, the Child Study Association combines an essentially practical service and demonstration center with broad educational work through publications, lectures, conferences, etc. The Family Counseling Service, the study groups and lectures effectively keep the staff and workers of the Association in close touch with the problems of the mothers, fathers and children who make up families.

In this way educational efforts are assured a realism and vitality which make them of greater value to those who seek the Association's help.

During the past year, the work of the Association has become more extensive as well as more intensive. It may perhaps be taken for granted that the program of the Association will continue to reach more and more sections of the population. The work is being extended through a greater variety of agencies. The staff was represented on the National Commission on Children and Youth preparing for the 1950 White House Conference; on the National Conference on Family Life to be held in Washington in May, 1948; and on preparatory commissions for the International Congress on Mental Health, to be held in London in August, 1948. The more intensive character of the work is indicated by the fact that, in general, individuals coming to the Family Counseling Service bring problems that seem to be increasingly complex. These problems, in turn, frequently call for the assistance of a greater variety of specialized workers, with finer clinical and diagnostic skills.

Another distinctive feature of the Child Study Association tradition is the work of its various committees of volunteers, more than half of whom have professional training or experience. These committees, such as the Children's Book Committee and the Bibliography Committee, systematically make valuable contributions to parent education; and by cooperating with broadcasters and publishers, they extend the value of their services. Incidentally, each committee has also substantially advanced the education and training of its members in research, organization, group cooperation and specialized subjects.

The newest committee, for furthering the Family Counseling Service, was formed in December, 1946. It atranged the first series of lectures on *Psychiatry: Its Contribution to Family Living*. The value of this project may be judged not alone from the capacity enrollment of 200, but from the fact that at least two other organizations subsequently sponsored similar series of lectures.

The factual report of the year's activities is divided rather arbitrarily into three areas—direct services in the region of the Association's headquarters, extension to the nation, and international contacts.

---Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director.

The detailed Annual Report for 1947, of which a few excerpts are given above, may be obtained from Child Study Association headquarters.

Book Reviews

Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. By Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin. W. B. Saunders Company, 1948. 804 pp.

Few scientific studies have ever called forth the flood of public comment and discussion evoked by Dr. Kinsey's book. Not only have newspaper columns and magazine articles been devoted to a more or less serious discussion of its contents, but it has even created that infallible measure of popular interest, a new body of humor. The reaction to the appearance of Sexual Behavior in the Human Male confirms our belief in the importance of sex in human behavior; but what contribution does the report itself make to our understanding of male sexual activity?

The authors early in the book disclaim responsibility for the title. The report is not a study of male sex behavior in general, but a specific analysis of 5,300 personal interviews with American men who, in the main, come from the northeastern quarter of the country. Limited though this sample of the population is, it represents the largest number so far subjected to detailed interview as to their sexual histories, and can be welcomed as a beginning of serious study of sexual behavior. The results, reported in repetitious tabular, graphic, and verbal form do not come as a surprise to any serious student of human behavior. The numerical data substantiate the view that masturbation, homosexuality, pre-marital sexual activities, extramarital sexual relations and animal contacts are far more prevalent than popular legal and moral notions would admit.

Too much confidence, however, must not be placed in the numerical precision of the Kinsey materials. Despite the authors' numerous protests to the contrary, their interview technique has at least one source of error in common with all other interviewing. People can report only what they are consciously aware of, and as any clinical psychologist knows, many early experiences which cause conflict cannot be recalled by a person except with the most persistent and skillful psychiatric help. Nowhere is this factor of repression so prevalent as in the forgetting of sex experiences. Thus, in some instances, the authors have undoubtedly received answers which the person interviewed considered to be entirely honest, but which are invalid. Dr. Kinsey seems to be unaware of this factor of personality, and feels that it would have

shown lack of faith on his part and yielded a loss of confidence in him by the people interviewed if he had attempted some supplementary investigations.

This lack of awareness of personality factors is present in all aspects of the study. One will seek in vain for a single psychological hypothesis. Differences in sexual practice among individuals are treated as though the investigator were examining variations in length in a population of termites, instead of aspects of human personality. The frequencies of different male sexual outlets are tabulated, sometimes to ridiculous extremes. Thus, the following statement is offered twice (pp. 281 and 355): "At all social levels practically 100 per cent of the married males have intercourse with their wives." Again on page 562 we find the following: "In segments of the population which rarely use contraceptives, the frequencies of premarital pregnancies are quite high." We are drowned in tabulations, but nowhere is there any attempt to provide information on why people utilize different kinds of sexual outlets. The report merely tells us what some men do, and the frequencies of the doing in different social, regional, and educational groups. The failure to discuss psychological factors or even to include questions of a psychologically meaningful kind in the original interviews makes reading the book a frustrating chore for students of personality.

Certain socio-legal and moral features of the report demand examination. The investigators make a real contribution when they point out the wide divergence in our culture between male sexual practices and our legal and moral codes. Sexual practices which are statistically normal, Kinsey points out, are offenses against the penal code in many states. He then implies (an implication made more explicit by Mr. Bliven in The New Yorker magazine) that our laws should be changed to conform to practice. Such a line of reasoning is both logically spurious and scientifically dangerous. It may be statistically normal for extramarital relations and homosexual contacts to occur, but statistical normality and desirability are distinctly different concepts. Thus, it is statistically normal to have a cold in winter, but only a terribly confused individual would consider his cold desirable and proclaim it a sign of health.

The fact that male sexual practices and our moral codes bear little meaningful relation to one another is a sign of social deterioration. To call for a change of

laws to make them conform to practice is to accept current male sexual practices as desirable and permanent. The authors present no evidence to support this idea and merely state a prejudice, not a fact. The Kinsey report does not help us to choose whether we should change the laws, change male sexual practices, or change the social conditions which produce both. It simply describes behavior and makes no attempt to explain it. Perhaps it is not within the province of this study to make such explanations, but there ought to be a greater awareness of the need of interpretation and explanation.

In all, the Kinsey book is a monumental work in a literal sense. It is huge. Enormous effort was expended in its construction. *And it does not move.*

HERBERT G. BIRCH

EDITOR'S NOTE: Since so many reviews of this book have appeared in the press since its publication, CHILD STUDY asked Dr. Birch, Assistant Professor in the Department of Psychology at the College of the City of New York, to give us a critique of its contribution to our deeper understanding of the subject.

Painting and Personality: A Study of Young Children. By Rose H. Alschuler and La Berta Weiss Hattwick. University of Chicago Press, 1947. 2 vols. \$10.*

These two volumes make an outstandingly valuable contribution to child psychology. They consist of a ten-year study with 150 children between two and five years of age, and are concerned with the way in which the earliest spontaneous drawings and paintings reveal the anxieties and other emotions of the children, their trends of personality and their incipient ideas about themselves and other people. . . .

A large number of examples of the children's paintings are reproduced in color—all of them fascinating, but especially so when taken in the context of the child's life and behavior at the time. For example, it is noted that children who are being too rigidly controlled by their environment tend, at about four and one-half years of age, to place separate colors on the paper so carefully that they do not touch one another. As they begin to attain better balance in living, they begin to intermingle the colors. Children in whom there is little evidence of emotional strain habitually allow the colors to flow into each other and intermingle freely: such children are found to be expressing themselves freely in a variety of other ways as well. . . .

The authors well substantiate their view that the paintings of two, three and four year old children are far from being the "meaningless daubs" which most adults treat them as being. "... Almost every drawing and painting made by a young child is meaningful and in some measure expresses the child who did it ... just because they are not planned but are the spontaneous results of free experimentation. ...

"Although the child has probably painted something he has been feeling keenly about, it is doubtful if he could put into words just what it was that he had felt the need to express. In other words, children can use paints and crayons to express absorbing experiences and preoccupations which they are not yet able to express in words. Sometimes this may be because the experiences are still at a *feeling* level not sufficiently clarified to express in words, or again it may be that children of this age have not yet sufficient vocabulary to express their feelings." . . .

The psychoanalyst would say that the meaning of the paintings is in the main unconscious. The one thing missing from this research is the cooperation of the psychoanalyst in interpreting the paintings; although the authors do refer in at least one place to the psychoanalysts' point of view, hardly any use is made of their work, which would have further enriched the outcome of this study.

As various illustrations show, the representative element appears in children's paintings toward the end of the period considered; then children tend to paint themselves, and themselves as they feel from within. For example, Aileen, whose "case analysis" is given at fullest length, drew a self-portrait at four years and nine months, in which her crying eyes and open mouth were only too true to life. . . . On the other hand, the child's feelings about important events outside himself may be shown; e.g., the drawings of some older children may be of the "container" type, representing the pregnant mother. . . .

The material for these conclusions is given generously and the characteristics of the various paintings are analyzed. . . . Emphasis on relationships is the outstanding characteristic of the authors' study and perhaps its most valuable quality. Their detailed material fully supports the point of view expressed in the first chapter on "The Bases of Understanding," i.e., it is in the inter-relationships of the several aspects of children's products and of their behavior that their distinctive and telling qualities are likely to lie. Sound interpretation of any product or of any behavior can only be made on the basis of a full study of context. Here we have one of the fundamental

^{*} Reprinted by courtesy The New Brs, London.

principles of child psychology, to which not enough attention has been paid by many authors. . . .

These volumes should be in every training college and educational library; a study of them might well serve to transform the attitude of adults to the paintings of little children, and thus to increase general understanding of children's problems.

SUSAN ISAACS

There's Music in Children. By Emma Dickson Sheehy. Henry Holt. \$2.00.

For some time a need has been felt by both parents and teachers to give a child some musical background before undertaking the study of a specific instrument. Emma Dickson Sheehy's book There's Music in Children is a virtual handbook for the average motherreader and nursery-school teacher. Mrs. Sheehy discusses in an organized fashion the various aspects of a child's musical life that should be developed during these pre-school years when love of music needs to be nurtured, before more formal study begins. The author's attitude is reassuring to a mother, making her feel that even though her own musical background seems meager, she can draw upon it to give her child a richer musical experience.

In discussing children's experiences with "Sound" and the "Dance," Mrs. Sheehy indicates how closely these are related to children's play. She suggests that instead of adult demonstration of these subjects, the child be allowed to develop the seemingly nonsensical experimentation with sound during playtime.

She offers many good suggestions for making instruments and describes techniques for using them so as to develop creative expression, running the gamut from pots and pans through improvised drums and tone glasses to professionally made blocks.

A chapter is devoted to the interest children can develop from experiences with the piano. Another is devoted to the various categories of songs, with examples of each and standards for judging them.

Aside from valuable guidance for the mother, this book gives good standards for judging a music program planned for the pre-school child by a music teacher or incorporated into a nursery-school program. Moreover, Mrs. Sheehy points out that "in early years music is not a matter of a half-hour lesson or music periods, it is a part of children's everyday life." The attractive photographs scattered through the book convincingly suggest that "there's music in children."

ROBERTA SPITZ LAZES Bibliography Committee The most powerful and dramatic argument for world understanding that has been produced in the present decade.

-DANIEL A. POLING, Christian Herald

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SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY GROUPS

(Continued from page 49)

To Discuss:

What is it that children seem to seek and find in thrillers?

What adequate substitutes can we provide?

In management of radio listening, what steps can parents take to insure the comfort and convenience of all the members of the family?

In what ways can parents help a child whom programs seem to disturb but who is upset by the prospect of not being

allowed to listen?

What differences in taste appear to exist between grown-ups and children? Note changes with age in standards of good taste. Can good taste be forced? How is it developed?

TO READ:

Children's Radio Programs: Social Attitudes in the Serials. Child Study, Summer 1945. Reprints available. The Comics As a Social Force. S. M. Gruenberg, Journal of Educational Sociology. Reprints distributed by Child Study Association.

Looking at the Comics. Mrs. H. Z. Straus and J. Frank. Reprinted from CHILD STUDY, Summer 1943.

Growing Together. R. W. Bacmeister. Appleton-Century, 1947. (A rich source of ideas for enriching children's

Radio, Motion Pictures and Reading Interests. A. P. Sterner. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947.

FILM SUGGESTION:

KNOW YOUR BABY, 16 mm., one reel, color, sound. National Film Board of Canada, Distributor. A charming film which illustrates infant care and adjustment of older children to the

Children's Books

"AMERICA in Books for Young People" was the subject of discussion at a meeting opening the annual exhibit of children's books at the Association's headquarters on November 25th.

James Daugherty, author-illustrator of A. Lincoln, Daniel Boone, and other books, stressed the urgent need to present "this thing we call the American spirit" in books for young people. "Distinguished as some contributions in this field have been," he said, "artists and writers have still barely scratched the surface of this immense subject.

"The romantic past, the romantic landmarks, the stories of our heroes-all these are valuable and important. But we have sentimentalized too long over the Gettysburg Address without really discovering the meaning of that address and its challenge to us today. Along with exploring the fascinating frontier of the past, which is so much a part of children's literature, we need to look squarely at the new frontier America is facing now. This is the frontier we are going to hand on to the next generation. We give them wonderful stories about the mountain men and the Missouri River and Daniel Boone. But our children's world is not their world. We need to find out for ourselves, and then to tell our children, the real meaning of American democracy. The things which were said by Roger Williams and Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine and Thoreau, the writings and speeches of Woodrow Wilson, Wendell Wilkie and Franklin Roosevelt, are for today—a plea for a humanitarian democracy. This is the new frontier which I hope will permeate our children's literature more than it hasthis fearless approach to the world we live in and its problems."

Eva Knox Evans, author of *All About Us*, asked for children's books to help break down racial barriers. She told of her experiences with both Negro and white children in the deep south and the hate which is engendered in the hearts of both by the "fence" that separates them. "Partly," she said, "they hate because they cannot know each other at all—the fence, both legal and social, is so high there is no way to see over it or through it. Books for young people can help in breaking down this fence."

Mrs. Evans said that, in teaching Negro children, she had felt keenly the need for books in which they might see themselves as they really are—as normal persons living in families who speak good English and

don't look like caricatures. "This need," she said, "is beginning to be met. We are getting a few books now which show various racial groups in their proper setting in America, different, but not peculiar or inferior because of that difference. That 'fence' will have to be attacked not only by writers, editors and publishers but by bus drivers, store keepers, mothers and fathers."

Declaring that, by and large, children read better books, are more literate, more understanding and less prejudiced than adults, Howard Fast, author of *Citizen Tom Paine*, *Haym Solomon* and other historical books, cited the many classics originally written for adults which have become known as children's books.

"The priceless gift of civilization is literacy," he said, "and in the most catholic sense, children have that gift. Children read *Huckleberry Finn* and recognize its terrific indictment of race hatred and human slavery. Children, not adults, read *The Black Arrow* and *The White Company. Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Mark Twain's *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, which are today considered good reading for children, dared to come to grips with America's most controversial social and political questions.

"There is no better way to learn about the basic culture of America than through the books our children read. All the fanciful, untruthful tales of the American frontier which propagandize a picture of something that never existed, can be contradicted by reading a book no adult reads any more—Francis Parkman's The Oregon Trail. He was a sociological anthropologist, and his brilliant notes, preserved in this book, are read mostly by children. Grinnell's books, too, have been relegated to the position of juveniles, but they remain great contributions to American anthropology, picturing the brilliant, exciting, wonderful truth of the early struggles of our country. The whole proud concept of primitive man struggling to be free was summed up by Melville in the novels of his day, now also belonging to the world of children. (I mean, of course, adolescents, not young children.)

"At an early age our children absorb the folk lote of democracy. Not until they reach maturity will they recognize the contradictions of democracy which will explain to them that while every child born in the United States can be president, only one is president. Every child can be successful—very few are.

Every girl can drive a locomotive—none of them do. But in childhood they have the vision of Robinson Crusoe. They need that vision—of free man, master of the elements, who determines his destiny, who makes his future, who fights against adverse circumstances and though he be beaten down, comes up again. This is why they love the classics. The only people who read these timeless tales, who love them and appreciate them, are the children."

In conclusion Mrs. Hugh Grant Straus, Chairman of the Children's Book Committee, who presided, hailed the increasing number of new books for younger readers which present some of America's proudest traditions as well as some of our besetting problems. Among these she cited especially *The Great Heritage* whose author, Katherine B. Shippen,

was guest of honor at the meeting.

WHAT IS A PROBLEM CHILD?

(Continued from page 41)

ground of love and care that makes for healthy emotional growth, just as they can do their best to safeguard their children's physical well-being. And, as we have seen, it is never possible to separate the two entirely. People who understand these matters do not blame and censure. When difficulties arise they realize that the parents themselves may be hampered by their own past experiences and by the situations in which they are caught. Each does as well as he can.

Children vary in their innate capacity to withstand emotional stresses, just as they vary in their natural immunity to disease. Then, too, damaging experiences may pile on one child rather than another quite accidentally, in ways that cannot be foreseen, just as physical accidents or disease germs may happen to strike in situations quite beyond our control. In neither case should parents feel that they have failed, but rather that their present obligation is to find the best professional help available.

EDITOR'S NOTE: If you are in need of this kind of advice and do not know where to find it in your community, write to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y., and ask for information about the nearest agency.

THE PARENT AS A RESEARCH WORKER

(Continued from page 39)

longer say of a child's painting: "Is this good for his age?" We look at its quality, see whether the

space is closed or open, for there are definite psychological reasons for always having to leave the spaces open instead of closed. We try to understand the connection between drawing an elaborate border design all around the edge of the paper, leaving no gaps and never going over the edge, and certain types of behavior. Does it mean that the child always wants to know just how far he can go and yet never take a chance on being wrong? Trying to get a new insight into these responses is what we mean by "projective techniques." There is the Rorschach test, in which an individual's emotional reactions are judged by what he sees in a series of ink-blots offered him. In painting, it is what he does with space, coloring and line; in dramatic play, it is what situations and feelings he chooses to dramatize. No one has a more wonderful opportunity to study these things than a parent at home. He does not need special training.

Adapting the new forms of experimental study to the home does not mean, however, going out after every new fad. It does mean that the parent will notice what the child does. He will decide on a way to handle a situation, and try it out; then if his decision proves wrong, he will face that, without being defensive, and try again in another way. He will not expect to be right in everything he does, for no one ever is. He will keep within himself a sense of freedom about what he is doing with his child and he will look to the child himself for the clues to

understanding.

SELF REGULATION IN INFANCY

(Continued from page 36)

fant can adjust himself well to the mother or to a mother substitute (as did the aristocratic infants of the old south who had wet-nurses and "mammies"), but he cannot adjust himself easily to a succession of different baby sitters.

In conclusion, now let us return to the question of timing. Just as the loaf must rise before it can be baked, so also must the young infant acquire one very essential characteristic; namely, confidence in those around him—confidence which expresses itself in the

further characteristic of patience.

Such a confident, patient infant, who has been satisfied when hungry during his early weeks, is easily guided in his early months into a convenient schedule for the family. As an older child, if not coerced unduly, he will readily adapt himself to the cultural pattern in which he finds himself.

We Invite Your Comment

The editors of CHILD STUDY need your comments upon the contents of our magazine. For the most helpful answer received to the following questions, we will send free a copy of "Parents' Questions." Write briefly and, so far as possible, explain the reasons for your preferences. Letters must be mailed by April 15, 1948.

1. Which article in this issue have you found most helpful and interesting and why?

2. Which topics have interested you the least and why?

3. What subjects do you wish to see treated in future issues?

4. What regular features—Parents' Questions, Suggestions for Study Groups, Radio, Children's Books, Book Reviews—do you find most useful?

Are you a parent, a professional worker or both? Address Editors, CHILD STUDY, 221 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

Great interest was aroused by Sidonie M. Gruenberg's article, "The Modern Mother's Dilemma," published in CHILD STUDY last fall. Catherine Mackenzie devoted her whole page in The New York Times to excerpts from it, and letters of appreciation were received from our readers. We print here one letter disagreeing with Mrs. Gruenberg's point of view.

Dear Editor:

Could it be that the modern woman's problem is, as the saying goes, all in the mind? Granted that working conditions for the home-maker are far from perfect—in what industry or profession are they so much better? What is so soul-satisfying about pounding a typewriter eight hours a day, or turning one screw on an assembly line 5,000 times a week, or waiting on table or selling hairpins, or running an x-ray machine or chirping "Number please"? Or suppose you want to do something really creative (and are among the lucky 10 per cent or so who have the ability!), to be a doctor, or a farmer, or a musician. There is no worthwhile job in the world that doesn't require hard work and responsibility. Can the farmer take a day off? Can the doctor whose patient calls at 2 a.m. turn over and go back to sleep? Can a musician evade the endless hours of practicing?

I just don't know of any job that's more interesting,

worthwhile, and truly creative than raising children and making a home. This is the one fundamentally creative human expression: to produce a better human being. Any other creative task is a substitute for that or a contribution to it. At any given income level, how many husband's jobs can compare with their wives' for the possibility of independent, original, creative work? It is perhaps true that a woman's scope is limited by her husband's income and his ability (those two things seldom being one and the same). A woman struggling with crowded quarters, tub-washing and ironing, inadequate funds for groceries and clothing, has little margin for creative effort and may well blame her husband for "failure" to support his family. (Such women would surely marvel that Mrs. Gruenberg can say home-making is not a full-time job!) Actually, a man's success or failure is only partly determined by his own ability, partly by the caprices of the economy, and partly by the kind of life partner he has in his wife. A man's job is his wife's job, too. Many women are so preoccupied in conscious or unconscious competition with their husbands that they have no concept of the deep satisfaction to be had in sharing their husbands' work and recreational interests. Feminist propaganda has built up such a wall of resentment between men and women that husbands and wives no longer feel the identity of interests which once existed for them. The problems and pleasures of the children and the home should be the husband's warm concern, and it should be the wife's pride to share the problems and achievements involved in her husband's work. The wise woman also takes an active interest in her husband's efforts to improve his lot through his trade union and his fraternal or political organizations.

Perhaps we should take the housewive's pet "peeves" one by one. First, according to Mrs. Gruenberg (and most other writers) is isolation. With the exception of country folk, I think few housewives are isolated except by their own conscious or unconscious choice. If they are too bashful or too snobbish to speak to their neighbors, to exchange visits with the mothers of their children's friends, to make an effort to see their own friends, and to consider the various tradespeople, craftsmen and workmen who come into the house as people, then the fault lies

with the housewife.

Number two on the gripe list is usually long hours. It's true, mothers have to be "on duty" twenty-four hours a day. So do farmers. But an efficient house-keeper can often get the routine housework done in half a day, more or less, depending on the mechanical aids at her command. That leaves the afternoon, during part of which school-age children are away, free for social or recreational activities, with or without the children. I have small children. We go to the park or visiting, or we get out paints or clay together. I can putter around the garden or read. In the summer I have fun renewing my own childhood by helping to build sand castles on the water's edge. I look forward to the time when I can take the children to concerts and plays and museums.

Grievance number three is that woman's work is prosaic, dull and dirty and provides no intellectual challenge. Of course, the early years involve a lot of hard physical, non-intellectual work, but most creative people, in any calling, have to put in many years of work "at the bottom." Nothing comes free. However, don't let anyone tell you it doesn't take brains to organize housework so that it is not a principal preoccupation. To plan and keep an attractive home is a creative achievement on any budget, and even the seemingly routine functions of juvenile feeding, dressing and bed-going are procedures which require skill and sensitivity to manage well. It is out of these simple routines that the structure of personality is built. And what more exciting material could one work with than the human personality?

Now, if we come to the complaint that girls have been given the wrong education for their profession, I must heartily agree; but then let's talk about changing the education, not the profession! If we could get real professional training for motherhood and home-making, that would itself improve both the prestige of the profession and the satisfaction which women could get from doing their job well. If women found genuine pleasure in living with happy children and happy husbands, you wouldn't need to "relieve" them with nursery schools and "broaden" them with part-time jobs.

If the champions of women's rights really want to do something for us, let them first stop driving us out of our homes, and telling us what a "problem" it is to be a modern mother, and then start getting us such tangible improvements as family allotments, socialized medicine, adequate housing designed for family living, and counseling and training for mother-hood and home-making so that we can do our own

job with pride and satisfaction to ourselves and with benefit to society. Give us knowledge, not sympathy! Don't make us feel even more defeated and inadequate in the work that deep down inside, we'd rather do than anything else in the world. Tell us less about what's wrong with us, more about what we can do; less about our children's behavior problems, more about play materials and activities; more about what kinds of behavior and skills we should expect at about what ages—in fact, more about our own job and its vast possibilities for pleasure and achievement!

Then finally allow us, please, to look forward to a little leisure in our mature years, unstrained by the demands of a new career, and finally to the enjoyment of our grandchildren when in our still later years we can again serve a function for our own children.

Mrs. William Becker, New York, N. Y.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mrs. Becker makes some excellent points in her argument but she seems to have missed the main point of the article. What Mrs. Gruenberg said, in part was:

"I have no one solution to offer. There probably is no one solution. . . . The first need is for all of us to recognize what the problem is. But there are a few obvious approaches to the dilemma of the modern young wife and mother. . . .

"Girls could be more realistically prepared for their tasks as mothers, so that they might not only meet these tasks more effectively but also get more satisfaction out of the absorbing—and confining—years when the children make the greatest demands upon them.

"Another need is to raise the prestige of the mother and housewife in the community, and so also in the eyes of the women themselves. . . .

"A woman's life runs in a series of fairly distinct stages. In this series, the child-bearing and childrearing stage is unique and of fundamental importance. During this stage women have to understand and anticipate the essentially different later stages. . . .

"Motherhood is a vital and satisfying experience in its various aspects. In modern times, however, it is not normally an all-consuming or final experience. It does not last for the rest of life. Yet we have no socially approved or directed outlook for the many years that most mothers survive their children's dependence upon them."

(Continued on page 58)

We received so many challenging letters of comment on our Winter issue that selection was difficult. We print here two of the most interesting. The Editors would appreciate votes from our readers on these suggestions for articles—which, if any, would you wish to see incorporated into future issues of CHILD STUDY?

The Editors, CHILD STUDY:

r. I have found Mrs. Auerbach's "Understanding Children's. Fears" the most helpful of the articles in the Winter issue. It is most important for mothers to understand what causes fear and how a situation involving fear can best be handled. Mrs. Auerbach's explanation of suppressed feelings as a cause of fear is clear and direct. If parents can be made to look for the real cause, rather than to be concerned with the particular object manifestation, they will be in a position to help children in their difficulties.

I also enjoyed "A Child Goes Forth," by Dr. Sara Dubo and Dr. E. Gruenberg, with its emphasis on the importance of the cultural pattern and the way it affects the personality. The reference to the particular problems of minority groups is especially interest-

ing

- 2. Which topic do you like least and why? I felt that the article "Science Contributes" belonged more properly in a medical journal, where indeed it had originally appeared. In the first place, it is usually the doctors and not the parents who decide whether or not to operate. Moreover, regulations regarding visiting children in hospitals are under the jurisdiction of the hospital.
- 3. What subjects do you wish to see treated in future issues?
- a. An article explaining ambivalence, which would help parents to understand children's animosities against them, and so avoid or mitigate children's guilt feelings.
- b. Helpful advice to women who find it difficult to give the warm love and affection their children need; also an explanation of the causes of such emotional blocks.
- c. An article showing the importance of the "mental health" point of view in education, especially in schools for training teachers.
- 4. I find "Parents' Questions" the most helpful of the regular features as it deals with particular cases rather than generalities. It is down-to-earth and not theoretical.

I am the mother of two children, a former teacher, and especially interested in parent education.

Mrs. Edna Weil Lever, Rockville Center, N. Y.

Editor, CHILD STUDY:

- r. I liked best in the Winter issue "A Child Goes Forth," by Drs. Dubo and Gruenberg. Here is a salutary exposition of American cultural attitudes which shape the motives of parents, helping us to see ourselves as well as what we do to our children, and reducing our own "confusions and conflicts arising from contradictory moral standards."
- 2. I have yet to come upon the topic in CHILD STUDY which did not interest me. But, if I may substitute the word "satisfied" for "interested," then I would say that "Understanding Children's Fears," by Aline B. Auerbach, compact and succinct as it is, disappointed me in leaving untouched the problem of shyness and withdrawal.
- 3. I would like to see an article on "The Anatomy of Shyness."

The announcement of your annual conference on The Problem of Human Aggressions started me thinking about an article addressed to parents, admitting, with them, that all is not affection and understanding in their daily relations with their children. Recognize the guilt we feel at the hostility, frustration and fatigue which we too often take out on our children; analyze the ideal set for us by specialists and by our culture; discuss how much of our parental imperfections children can survive, what damage is done and how it can be off-set.

I would also like to see an article analysing the reward-psychology of our culture, ranging from the way parents use reward to achieve discipline and cooperation to the larger implications of a way of life

based on need for rewards.

4. Of the regular features, I read Parents' Questions for specific advice and for the moral support I derive from the spirit in which the advice is given. I find your Suggestions for Study Groups useful, though I don't belong to such a group, because they help to clarify my thoughts about the articles and for the recommended collateral reading. The editorials are good, too; especially the one in this issue distinguishing between fear and anxiety.

I was a social worker before I became a parent and I hope to return to the profession as soon as home

responsibilities permit.

Mrs. Frances W. Chase, New London, Conn.

PUBLICATIONS CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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Readers' Exchange

We invite our readers to share with one another their personal experiences in handling and understanding children. Are you a mother who has found a workable answer to a puzzling problem? Are you a nursery-school teacher who has made fresh observations of her own about children in group situations? As a nurse or a social worker, does some aspect of your experience contain help for others who are working with children? Send us your contributions in three hundred words or less and we shall be happy to print the most interesting in CHILD STUDY. Manuscripts cannot be returned. A copy of "Parents' Questions" will be sent to the reader whose experience our staff considers most helpful and most clearly expressed. Letters must be mailed by April 15, 1948. Address Readers' Exchange, CHILD STUDY, 221 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y. personal experiences in handling and understanding chil-

This account of how a small child's fear was intelligently handled came to our office just as the present issue was under preparation. We print it with appreciation of its author's interest and cooperation.

Curing Stevie's Fear Moving to a new town we found ourselves living next door to a railway intersection, where the shrill whistle of each passing train pro-

duced long minutes of real terror for our eight-monthold baby. Hearing the "chug" of the approaching train, Stevie would become tense, tremble all over, and then begin to shriek. The passing of each train was obviously an experience he was not ready to meet alone. Hence, as soon as my husband or I heard the train coming, one of us would carry him to the back of the house where the sound of the whistle was somewhat muffled. Gradually when the train was accepted calmly under these circumstances, we stopped taking him to the back of the house, but we continued to hold him and later just to stay near by, talking and playing with him. By the time Stevie was a year old, he was crawling to the window to watch the train and happily calling "coo-coo" (his word for "choo-choo"). Naturally, greater maturity helped to turn this fear-producing situation into a fun-producing one. However, I think that our way -first softening the shrillness of the whistle, giving reassurance in terms Stevie could understand, and letting him determine his readiness to meet the situation alone and without fear-was also a responsible factor.

> MILDRED POPOV KATZ Champaign, Illinois

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCU-LATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 8, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946

of CHILD STUDY, published 4 times a year, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1947.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Charlotte Williams, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of CHILD STUDY, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher-Child Study Association of America, 231 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Editor-None.

Managing Editor-Harriet Eager Davis, 221 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Business Manager--Charlotte Williams, 221 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

- New York 19, N. Y.

 2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Child Study Association of America, a philanthropic educational corporation, without stockholders, 221 West 57th Street, New York 18, N. Y., Mrs. Mary Fisher Langmuir, President; Mrs. George Van Trump Burgess, Frank E. Karelsen, Jr., Mrs. Max Mason, Ernest G. Osborne, W. Carson Ryan, Mrs. Hugh Grant Straus, vice presidents; Beardsley Ruml, Treasurer.

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- 5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

CHARLOTTE WILLIAMS,

Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October,

(Seal)

IRVING KAPLAN Notary Public in the State of New York Residing in New York County New York County Clerk's No. 247, Reg. No. 169K9 Certificate filed in Kings County Clerk's No. 53, Reg. No. 167K9 Commission Expires March 30, 1949



SPRING, 1948

News and Notes

For Speech Inhibited Children

Parents with children who are slow to talk or do not talk at all will be interested in the first of a series of booklets, "A Child Doesn't Talk," by Amy Bishop Chapin and Mar-

garet Corcoran. It is based on work at the Cleveland Hearing and Speech Center with sixteen nursery school children whose parents had considered them feeble-minded because of their speech difficulties. Those same children are now talking and playing happily with neighbor children. The authors explain in non-scientific terms the physical, mental, emotional and environmental causes of marked speech inhibition and the role of training at home and in the clinic or the school. A concise set of Do's and Don'ts is printed on the back cover. Other booklets to follow will offer help in dealing with the child with the cleft palate, the child who does not hear and the child who stutters. The Hearing and Speech Center is a Community Fund Agency affiliated with Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

The sale of Easter seals for the bene-Easter fit of the National Society for Seals Crippled Children and Adults, Inc., Chicago, Ill., rose to a gross last year of \$4,400,000. This March, state societies of the national organization will send out the seals to local citizens in a new drive for even larger returns. Every Easter seal bought will help a crippled child.

Public Health Nursing

April 11 to 17 will mark the fourth annual celebration of National Public Health Nursing Week, sponsored by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, Inc., in cooperation with U. S. Public Health

Service and more than three thousand local committees of Visiting Nurse Associations, Health Departments, Boards of Education and citizen groups.

Counseling

A summer workshop for professional workers to study common problems and practices of psychiatric counseling will be held from July 5 to

August 14 at Goddard College, Plainfield, Vt. The workshop will be under the direction of Dr. Peter

Blos, clinical psychologist, formerly of Brooklyn College and currently at the New School for Social Research, New York City. Camilla Kemple, executive editor of the Rorschach Research Exchange and Journal of Projective Techniques, will be among the staff members. The areas of study will include Psychological Counseling, Theory and Practice; Personality Diagnosis; Introduction and Advanced Seminar in the Rorschach; Projective Methods; Vocational Testing and Diagnosis; Vocational Counseling. For more detailed information write to Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont.

"Let's Close the Schools"

Under this arresting title, the Public Education Association has issued an excellent pamphlet about the alarming condition of education in the State of New York. Written in popular style, with

facts graphically presented through pictures and symbols, this booklet makes an eloquent plea for more state aid for our public schools. For copies, write to Public Education Association, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Service to College Mothers

A new service to help college women to adjust to parenthood has been started by Wellesley College. Pamphlets on child care, stressing the deeper reasons underlying child behavior rather than

specific techniques, interpret to the college mother the nature of her child's world and its relation to her own. Among these pamphlets are "Children are a Cultivated Taste," by Janet A. Moran, of the Page School and Smith College.

Staff News and Board

Terry Spitalny, of the Family Counseling Service of Child Study Association, has taken a year's leave of absence, starting December 1, 1947,

to serve as a nursery education consultant to the Bureau of Child Hygiene, Department of Health, New York City. Miss Spitalny is Administrative Assistant in the Day Care Unit of the Bureau.

Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir, president of the Child Study Association, is at present on part time leave from her post as Director of the Child Study Department at Vassar College, in order to serve as a member of the Psychology faculty of Sarah Lawrence College. In close cooperation with her Vassar department, she will help develop at Sarah Lawrence a research program in child study and a service program in parent and teacher education.

Mrs. Charlotte Adams, one of the active board members of the Child Study Association, and formerly a broadcaster on WQXR and Food Editor of the Associated Press, has recently accepted the post of Food Editor of Look magazine.

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